

Ideologies in Conflict: The Cold War

Key Skill:

Contributing to shared cross-cultural or ideological understandings and using strategies to resolve conflicts

Key Terms and Concepts:

- brinkmanship
- Cold War
- collective security
- containment
- détente
- deterrence
- expansionism
- ideological conflict
- liberation movements
- non-alignment
- pro-democracy movements
- Second World War
- sphere of influence

Key Issue:

To what extent should we embrace an ideology?

Related Issue:

Is resistance to liberalism justified?

Chapter Issue:

To what extent can ideological conflict influence international relations?

Question for Inquiry #1:

How can competing ideologies create tension in international relations?

Question for Inquiry #2:

In what ways can governments escalate international tensions?

Question for Inquiry #3:

In what ways can international tensions be reduced?

It's just a game—or is it? In a playoff series, tensions between two hockey teams and between their fans often run high, but in 1972, a series gripped fans like no other had before or has since. All of Canada watched a hockey game between Canada and the Soviet Union on September 28: businesses closed and school children watched the game in gyms. The eight-game series between the national teams of Canada and of the Soviet Union, called the Summit Series, was more than a popular competition between well-matched teams; it was as though the Cold War battle of ideologies between democratic capitalism and communism was being played out, quite literally, on ice.

Devoted fans set off for Moscow and wore their “Beat Russia” pins. In the last game of the series (which took place on September 28), going into the last minute, the score was 5 to 5. If the game ended in a tie, the Soviets would win the series because they had scored the most goals overall. In the last minute of the game, Paul Henderson jabbed at the puck near the Soviet goal but fell. He got the puck again and slipped it by the Soviet goalie. Canada won! Henderson's goal became known as the most important moment in Canadian hockey. When the game ended, people celebrated and even the Canadian prime minister was relieved.



▲ **Figure 8-1** Paul Henderson became one of the most recognizable hockey figures in Canada when he scored the winning goal in the 1972 Summit Series.

Chapter Issue:

To what extent can ideological conflict influence international relations?

In this chapter, you will examine ideological conflicts during the Cold War. During the Second World War, the United States and the Soviet Union put aside their differences to face their common enemy, Nazi Germany. When the war ended, however, they returned to their ideological conflict: capitalist liberal democracy versus communism. Both countries went to amazing and sometimes scary lengths to protect and promote their ideologies. The impact was felt not only in those countries, but also around the world. Through many Cold War conflicts, you will explore the Chapter Issue: *To what extent can ideological conflict influence international relations?* In turn, this will help you address the Related Issue for Part 2: *Is resistance to liberalism justified?* You may then consider the Key Issue: *To what extent should we embrace an ideology?*

Figure 8-2 American and Soviet soldiers embrace each other at the Elbe River in Germany in April 1945. The meeting of the two armies symbolized the end of the Second World War in Europe. When the first patrols met, Soviet troops signalled to a US patrol using a British Union Jack and calling out *Amerikanski* (the word for *American* in Russian) from across the river. What barriers to understanding do you imagine soldiers from both sides faced after their first meeting? How might the soldiers have shared a common sense of identity?



PAUSE AND REFLECT

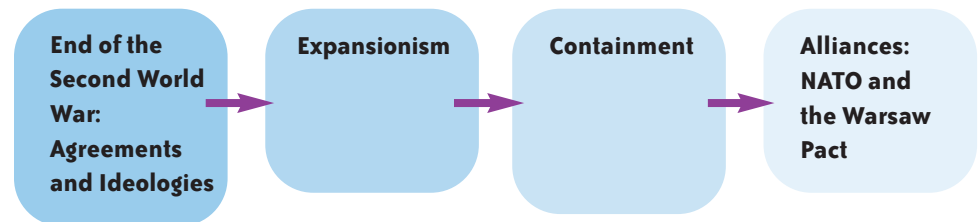
If you are unfamiliar with the Summit Series, you can go online or ask your teacher to play a video of the final game and some of the media coverage. How did hockey reflect politics in this conflict?

Competing Ideologies

Question for Inquiry

1. How can competing ideologies create tension in international relations?

In this section ...



In 1927, Joseph Stalin predicted the following:

“...there will emerge two centers of world significance: a socialist center, drawing to itself the countries that incline towards socialism, and a capitalist center, drawing to itself the countries that incline towards capitalism. Battle between these two centers for command of the world economy will decide the fate of capitalism and of communism in the entire world.”

—Source: Joseph Stalin, speech to American workers delegation, 1927, quoted in George Kennan, “Excerpts from *Telegraphic Message from Moscow of February 22, 1946*,”

<http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/history/johnson/longtelegram.htm>.

As you read this chapter, think about Stalin’s prediction and ask yourself to what extent it was correct. Also, think about what other international tensions have developed because of competing ideologies.

End of the Second World War: Agreements and Ideologies

As the Second World War was ending, the Allied leaders of Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union began to make plans for the future of Europe. What would happen to all of the territory that Germany had occupied during the war? How would European governments be structured after six years of war? What rewards could each Allied country claim as a winner of a world war?

As early as 1943, British prime minister Winston Churchill, American president Franklin Roosevelt, and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin began discussing their own visions of Europe after the defeat of Nazi Germany. Tensions grew among the Allied governments as it became clear that the

communist Soviet Union's vision of Europe was significantly different from the models proposed by Britain and the United States. It became clear to each leader that their common goal was the unconditional surrender and demilitarization of Germany; however, ongoing differences could lead to future disagreements when the war was over. The values of the Western Allies (Britain and the United States) were not shared by their Eastern wartime ally (the Soviet Union).

The Yalta Conference

In 1945, the Second World War was in its last stage, and it was clear that the Allied powers would defeat Nazi Germany and Japan. Of all the countries involved in the war, most had lost power, but the United States and the Soviet Union had gained power and became known as the two “superpowers.” Their militaries and their economies were both strong, but the countries were in direct **ideological conflict**. In the final stages of the war, tensions increased as both countries tried to gain the upper hand in territory and weapons technology. When the “Big Three” met at the Yalta Conference in the city of Yalta in southern Ukraine in February 1945, they were planning the end of the war and the postwar future of Europe. They were set to “redraw the map” of Europe.

Initially, the atmosphere at Yalta was hopeful. It was clear that the war in Europe was ending, and that the time had come to plan for the future of a region that six years of open warfare had devastated. The sense of a shared victory led many to believe that postwar co-operation among the Big Three was still possible.

“We really believed in our hearts that [the Yalta agreement] was the dawn of the new day we had all been praying for and talking about for so many years. The Russians had proved that they could be reasonable and far-seeing.”

—Source: Harry Hopkins (advisor to President Roosevelt),
quoted in Robert Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins: An Intimate History* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948).

By the end of the conference, it was clear to the Western leaders that the tone of negotiations with the Soviet Union would be far different in the postwar era.

The agreements made at the Yalta Conference included

- dividing Germany into four zones of occupation (British, American, French, and Soviet)
- having free elections in the newly liberated countries of Europe, in keeping with “the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live.” (Source: The Yalta Conference, “Part II: Declaration on Liberated Europe,” February 11, 1945. The Avalon Project at Yale Law School, <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/yalta.asp>.)

To what extent did the hope reflected in the agreements from Yalta represent a feeling that the countries could overcome the ideological differences between the superpowers?



▲ **Figure 8-3** When the “Big Three” (Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt, and Joseph Stalin) met at Yalta, Soviet troops occupied territory in much of central and eastern Europe. What impact might that have had on negotiations?

The Potsdam Conference

The unconditional surrender of Germany was formally signed on May 8, 1945. Countries throughout Europe now faced an uncertain future because their political, economic, and social systems were in chaos. The leadership of the continent was in the hands of the Allied countries led by Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. In the summer of 1945, the leaders of these three countries met in Potsdam, Germany.

The Western Allies had experienced changes at home since the Yalta agreement. In April 1945, Roosevelt had died, leaving Harry S. Truman as the new American president. During the Potsdam Conference, the United States also finished work on the atomic bomb. In July, Churchill lost the British general election, and Clement Atlee was now the prime minister of Britain. Although Churchill attended the early parts of the conference, Atlee was the final representative and chief British negotiator when the Potsdam Conference ended on August 2, 1945. Both Truman and Atlee had been openly anti-communist before coming to power.

At the same time as the United States and Britain were expressing openly anti-communist views, the Soviet Union had established communist-friendly governments in each of the countries that had been liberated by the Soviet Red Army in 1945. Stalin did not want to give up any territory that was currently occupied by Soviet forces.

Many historians see the Potsdam Conference as the beginning of the Cold War. American historian Walter LeFaber notes that "...Potsdam marks the point at which Truman and Stalin don't have a whole lot to say to each other anymore. Their armies are essentially doing the talking." (Source: Walter LeFaber, "The Film & More: Harry S. Truman, 33rd President." PBS, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/presidents/33_truman/filmmore/ra_potsdam.html.)

PAUSE AND REFLECT

Although Churchill and Roosevelt were gone, Stalin continued as the Soviet Union's leader until his death in 1953. How might these changes in leadership among the Big Three have influenced international relations?

Figure 8-4 Main provisions of the Potsdam agreement

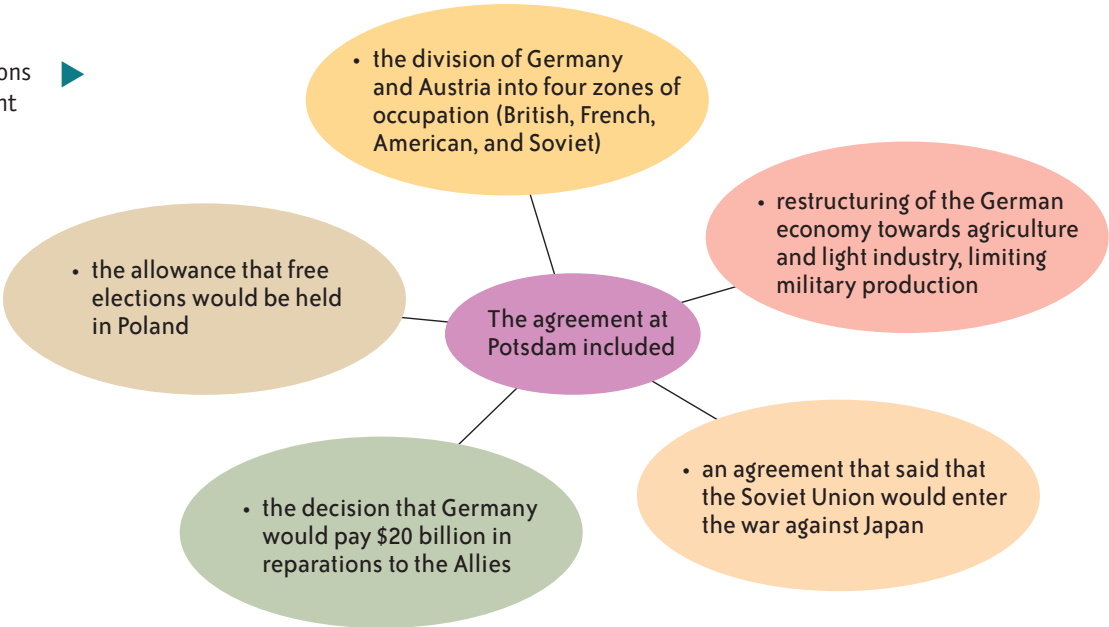




Figure 8-5 The states of Cold War Europe

Expansionism

The hope for friendly, “reasonable and far-seeing” relations between the United States and the Soviet Union expressed at Yalta in early 1945 were short-lived. At the end of the Second World War, these countries began to establish their **spheres of influence** (that is, the countries they would influence politically) in Europe. The countries that had been liberated from the Nazis by the Western Allies fell under the US sphere of influence, and the countries that had been liberated by the Soviet Union fell under the Soviet sphere of influence.

Stalin saw the Soviet Union’s postwar **expansionism** as a way to get “command of the world economy” (as he predicted in the quotation on page 186). He justified the expansion with specific historical and geographic reasons.

- Stalin wanted to keep Germany divided—a strong, unified Germany had invaded the Soviet Union twice in recent history. When Britain, France, and the United States pushed to unify the German zones to help the general economic recovery of Europe, Stalin opposed the idea.
- Stalin wanted to maintain or expand Soviet influence to surrounding countries, including Finland, Poland, and Romania, to create a buffer zone for the Soviet Union’s safety.

Containment

In 1947, US President Harry S. Truman said, “nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life.” In postwar Europe—and around the world—countries were making exactly the choices that Truman described, but not without difficulty. Truman wanted to stop Soviet expansionism in order to contain the spread of communism (**containment**). Rather than resorting to a “hot war” involving direct armed conflict, the United States fought its ideological conflict by creating alliances and giving aid, among other methods.

The Truman Doctrine

In 1947, United States president Harry S. Truman developed a foreign policy to support anti-communist forces in Greece and Turkey. This policy reflected the idea of containment through a \$400-million economic and military aid package to Greece and Turkey when their post-war governments asked for support in defeating communism within their countries. The policy was later expanded to support other countries that the United States government felt were being threatened by communism. In his speech to the US Congress, President Truman provided some reasons for this policy, including the following:

“The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the...activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the Government’s authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries...Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy...Greece’s neighbor, Turkey, also deserves our attention...”

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion [intimidation]. This was a fundamental issue in the war with Germany and Japan. Our victory was won over countries which sought to impose their will, and their way of life, upon other nations.”

—Source: US President Harry S. Truman, in an address recommending aid to Greece and Turkey, March 12, 1947. NATO Online library, http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/1947/s470312a_e.htm.

The Marshall Plan

In 1947, US secretary of state George Marshall announced a \$13-billion plan to help the European countries devastated by war to recover. This was a much larger economic aid plan than that of the Truman Doctrine.

The Marshall Plan was offered to all countries of Europe, communist or democratic. The United States understood that if European countries became prosperous again, the expansion of communism would be less likely because the middle and upper classes of society generally do not support

communism. The Marshall Plan did not involve money alone, however. Technical assistance was also available to those who respected certain conditions. One point of view about the Marshall Plan and its perceived benefits for all countries included the following:

Recipients had to agree to balance their budgets, stop inflation and stabilize their exchange rates at realistic levels. They were also encouraged to decontrol prices [let prices fluctuate with the market], eliminate trade restrictions and resist nationalization of industry. In short, the Marshall Plan imposed free market policies on Western Europe in return for aid. This is the reason why the Soviet Union rejected the Marshall Plan for itself and its allies in Eastern Europe.

—Source: National Center for Policy Analysis Idea House,
“Marshall Plan: Freer Markets Restored Europe,”
<http://www.ncpa.org/pd/pdint140.html>, June 2, 1997.

The Soviet foreign minister Vyacheslav Molotov, however, rejected the Marshall Plan as “dollar imperialism.” The following quotation reveals another opinion about the plan.

Churchill’s words won the war, Marshall’s words won the peace.

—Source: Dirk Stikker, Foreign Minister, The Netherlands, 1948–1952.

Thus, in early July 1947, when European governments were invited to Paris to discuss the Marshall Plan, the Soviet Union’s foreign minister ordered all leaders of Eastern European countries not to attend. Czechoslovakia continued to express interest in the plan, but Stalin advised, “I believe that the sooner you [reject the invitation], the better.” (Source: Joseph Stalin, quoted in David Reynolds, “Marshall Plan Commemorative Section: The European Response: Primacy of Politics.” *Foreign Affairs* (May/June, 1997), <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/19970501faessay3823-p10/david-reynolds/marshall-plan-commemorative-section-the-european-response-primacy-of-politics.html>.)

The Soviet Union, Poland, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and East Germany all participated in a Soviet alternative—the Molotov Plan. It provided aid to rebuild the countries in Eastern Europe that were politically and economically aligned with the Soviet Union.

Alliances: NATO and the Warsaw Pact

In the international ideological conflict of the Cold War, countries often felt they *had to* choose one of the following sides:

- communism and the Soviet sphere of influence
- capitalist liberal democracy and the US sphere of influence

Some countries joined alliances because they shared similar ideologies, some joined for financial and military assistance, and some joined for increased national security.

In Canada, Prime Minister Louis St Laurent saw the increasing sphere of Soviet influence and made the following comment:

READING GUIDE

When reading a source with many technical, political, or unfamiliar terms, use a dictionary to help you decipher what the speaker is saying. If a word you look up has many different meanings, use the context in which the word is used to decide which meaning is correct. Also, look for clues in the selected examples that are shared and in the descriptive words that are used by the speaker (e.g., adjectives or adverbs) to help you determine his or her beliefs, biases, or point of view about the topic.



Expansionism

The Soviet Union used history and geography to justify the expansion of its sphere of influence. The United States, however, expanded its sphere of influence by

stating that it wanted to provide other countries with the freedom to choose which ideology they wanted to follow. This policy of supporting countries that seemed threatened by communism became known as the **Truman Doctrine**.

“As a result of the German invasion, the Soviet Union has irrevocably [forever] lost in battles with the Germans, and also during the German occupation and through the expulsion of Soviet citizens to German slave labor camps, about 7 000 000 people. In other words, the Soviet Union has lost in men several times more than Britain and the United States together... One can ask therefore, what can be surprising in the fact that the Soviet Union, in a desire to ensure its security for the future, tries to achieve that these countries should have governments whose relations to the Soviet Union are loyal? How can one, without having lost one’s reason, qualify these peaceful aspirations [hopes] of the Soviet Union as ‘expansionist tendencies’ of our Government?”

— Joseph Stalin’s reply to Churchill, 1946.

Internet Modern History Sourcebook, Fordham University,
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1946stalin.html>.



READING GUIDE

To help you identify behaviours and attitudes that help to resolve cross-cultural and ideological conflicts, consider the following questions:

- What do you know about the people, cultures, ideologies, worldviews, and countries of each person or group involved in the conflict?
- What is the basis of your understanding? Authoritative web sources? Movies? Personal experience?
- What gaps in knowledge or understanding can you detect between the people or groups, and in your own understanding?
- What are the implications of these gaps? How can you help to resolve conflicts by increasing understanding between people or groups?

◀ **Figure 8-6** How does this cartoon reflect the Red Scare (that is, the fear that communism would take over)?

“At the present moment in world history, nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one. One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion and freedom from political oppression. The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies on terror and oppression [domination], a controlled press and radio, fixed elections and the suppression [control] of personal freedom. I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation [complete control] by armed minorities or by outside pressures. I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. I believe that our help should be primarily through economic stability and orderly political process.”

—Harry S. Truman, in an address recommending aid to Greece and Turkey, March 12, 1947. Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, “Harry Truman and the Truman Doctrine,” <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/teacher/doctrine.htm>.

- 1 What two specific issues does Stalin address? How does he defend the actions of the Soviet Union?
- 2 What is the main issue that Truman could be referring to when he talks about the armed minority imposing itself on the majority? Do you think Truman would agree with Stalin’s statement that the Soviet Union does not have “expansionist tendencies?” Explain.
- 3 What phrases or ideas within the quotations have particular relevance for you? For example, a phrase might suggest a feeling, remind you of a family connection to the Cold War, or describe a vision of the future that matches your own.
- 4 What obstacles to understanding and agreement do you see between the two sides?

“It may be that the free states, or some of them, will soon find it necessary to consult together on how best to establish such a collective security league...Its purpose...would not be merely negative; it would create a dynamic counter-attraction to communism...The free democracies...would organize so as to confront the forces of communist expansionism with an overwhelming preponderance [importance] of moral, economic and military force and with sufficient degree of unity to ensure that...the free nations cannot be defeated one by one...”

—Source: Louis St Laurent, speech in the House of Commons, April 29, 1948.

In the late 1940s, Hungary and Czechoslovakia were under Soviet control. Greece and Turkey had not yet joined an alliance. With this in mind, five Western European countries (Britain, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands) signed the Brussels Treaty on March 17, 1948, so that member countries would assist one another if attacked by the Soviet Union. This set the stage for the United States to join what would become the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949. NATO was established as a collective security alliance for the mutual protection of its members against the threat of a Soviet attack. It initially included most

PAUSE AND REFLECT

To what extent was the United States building a “sphere of influence” by providing financial aid to other countries? How might the Soviet Union respond to this question?

countries of Western Europe and North America. In response to NATO and the Marshall Plan, countries that were inclined toward Soviet communism created the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON). The Warsaw Pact was seen as a specific response to West Germany joining NATO, because a rearmed West Germany was considered a threat to the Eastern Bloc countries.



▲ **Figure 8-7** As NATO formed in 1949 and gained more members, do you think it was inevitable that the Soviet sphere of influence would respond with its own alliance? What other options might there have been?

Summary

Ideological conflict can lead to disagreement and clashes. Postwar relations between the Big Three were defined by a series of agreements, including those reached at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences. At this time, it became clear that the two new superpowers had different goals. The Soviet Union looked to historical experiences to justify its expanded **sphere of influence** through military occupation of other countries (that is, belief in **expansionism**). The United States pursued economic and diplomatic policies of **containment** to stop the spread of communism and to strengthen its sphere of influence as reflected in the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. Due to differences between the superpowers, many countries had to choose ideological sides: capitalist liberal democracy or communism.

Knowledge and Understanding

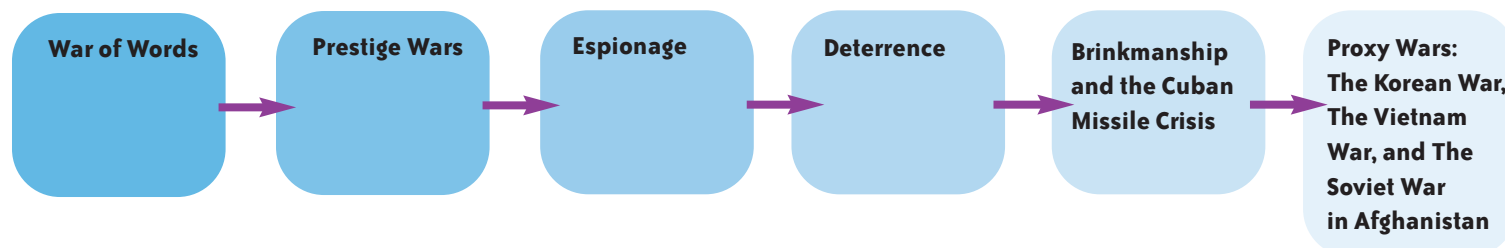
- 1 Explain what the Yalta and Potsdam conferences were about and what you believe was the most significant development or result that occurred because of these conferences.
- 2 Create a two-column chart with the headings “United States” and “Soviet Union.” For each column, add four rows and list what you know so far about each country’s actions, goals, spheres of influence, and ideology during the Cold War.
- 3 Explain how the ideological beliefs and values of the United States and of the Soviet Union drove their development of foreign policy. How did this situation affect international relations with other countries?

Escalating International Tensions

Question for Inquiry

2. In what ways can governments escalate international tensions?

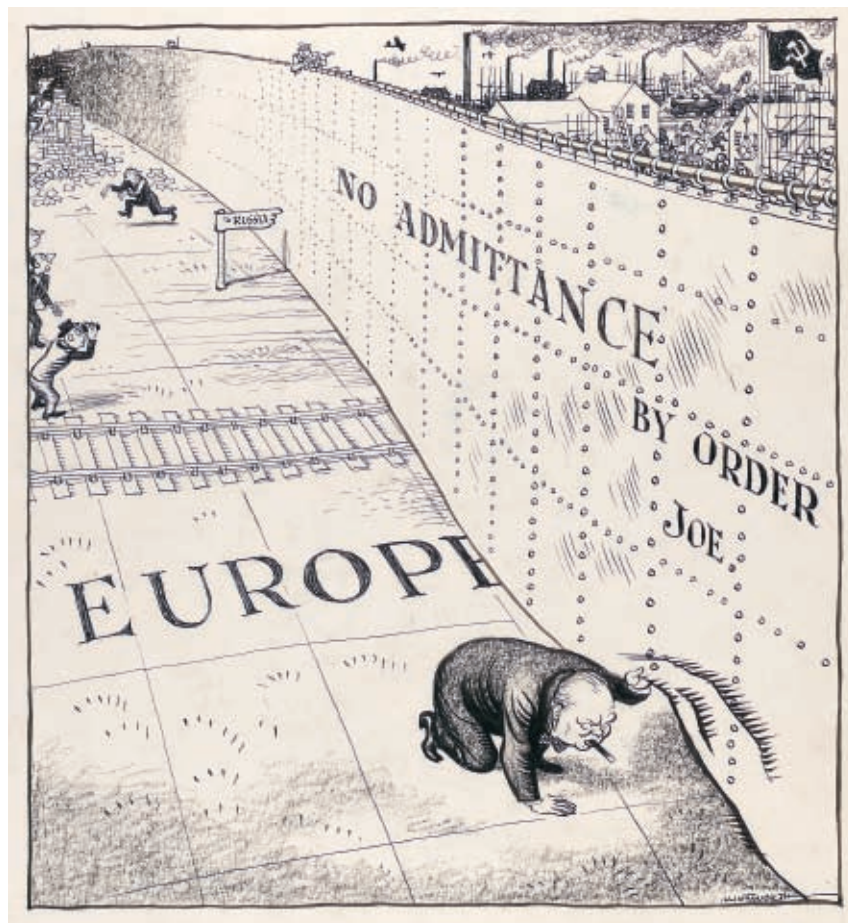
In this section ...



In 1946, Churchill described the expansion of communist influence as though an “Iron Curtain [had] descended across the continent [Europe],” but he asserted that the Commonwealth (countries belonging to the British Commonwealth, i.e., Canada, Australia, etc.) and the United States would

be a strong military and moral force against that threat. In response, Stalin accused Churchill of being a “firebrand of war” (that is, someone who promotes war) and of believing in national and racial superiority. How would this “war of ideologies” between governments escalate tensions? Name-calling and propaganda resulted in a “war of words” in which each side tried to convince its own population and the rest of the world that the other side was the enemy.

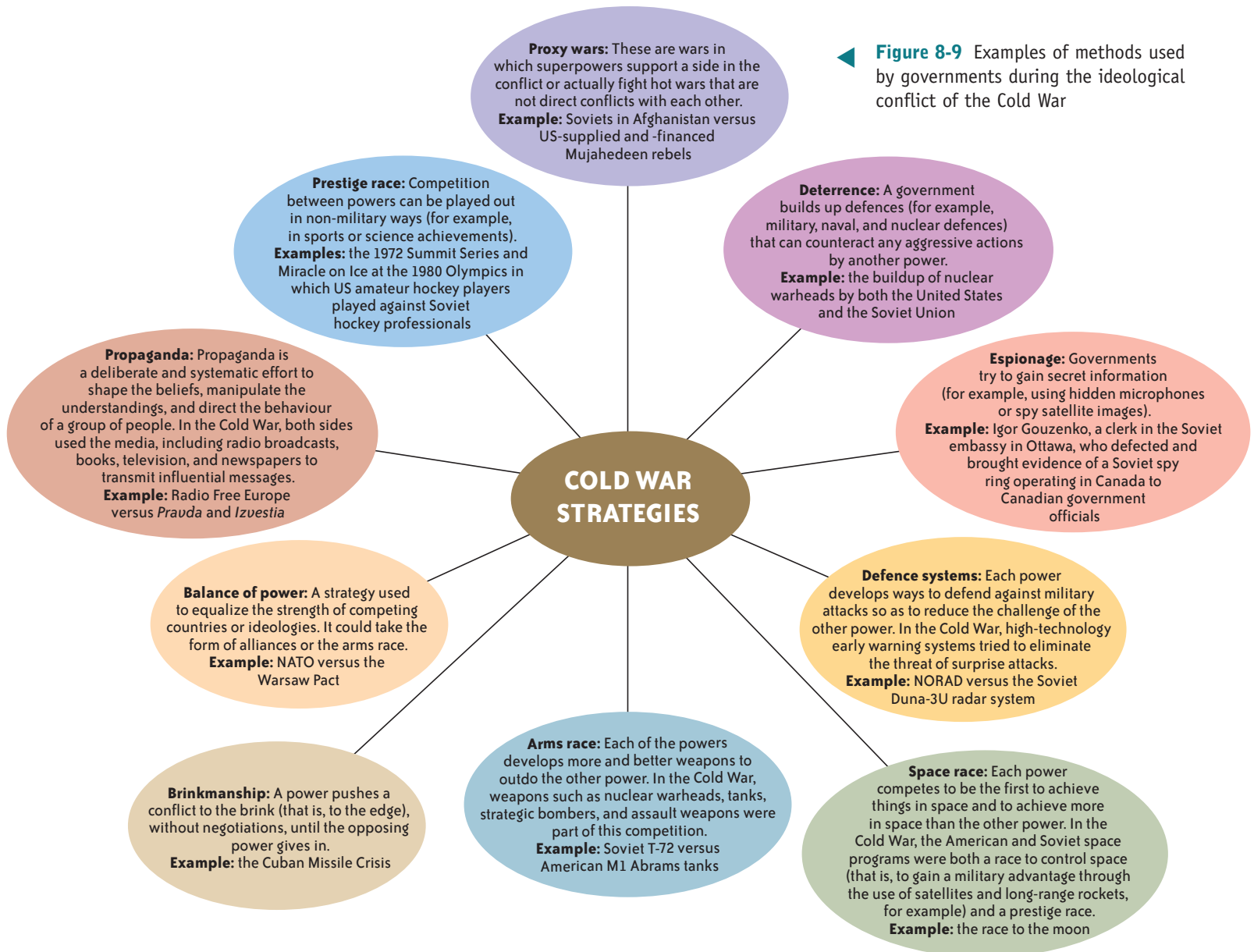
The postwar world had been clearly divided between East and West. Many countries, however, did not choose sides in this ideological split. Instead, each superpower tried to spread its ideology or national self-interest in an attempt to gain an advantage during the Cold War. Led by the United States, Western countries promoted



◀ **Figure 8-8** This cartoon, first published on March 6, 1946, depicts British Prime Minister Winston Churchill trying to figure out what was going on in the Soviet-occupied countries following the Second World War. Lack of openness made it difficult to predict Stalin’s actions.

capitalist liberal democracy as the best ideological system. In the Soviet Union, the interests of the state, including security, guided many decisions.

Many of the events that you will examine in the rest of this chapter are a direct result of the competing ideologies of the United States and the Soviet Union. As you read on pages 190–194, giving aid and creating alliances were two methods that the superpowers used to fight the Cold War. These were just some of the methods that the governments used to conduct their ideological battles, however. Some of the approaches used increased tensions. Later in the chapter, you will explore these in greater depth and have the opportunity to research the examples mentioned below.



◀ **Figure 8-9** Examples of methods used by governments during the ideological conflict of the Cold War



▲ **Figure 8-10** Anti-communist sentiment on display at a 1966 demonstration in Philadelphia. In the mid-1960s, US opposition to communism as a force to be stopped remained widespread. In the background, signs refer to death tolls related to Communist regimes.

► **Figure 8-11** The first craft launched successfully into space was the Soviet's *Sputnik 1* in October 1957. *Sputnik 2*, which carried the dog Laika, followed in November 1957, giving the Soviet Union the honour of sending the first craft and the first living creature into space. How could the sending of spacecraft and a dog into space by the Soviet Union escalate tensions between countries?

War of Words

The Cold War was often a war of words and images (for example, in cartoons, posters, and movies). Sometimes, this was a battle between governments in which politicians treated each other with great disrespect, including engaging in actions such as threats and name-calling. Sometimes, governments used propaganda to promote their ideologies and attack their opponents. Both methods—direct and indirect—are key aspects that can increase tensions in international conflicts.

Prestige War

Prestige wars are wars of achievements rather than direct battles. A government might believe *and present* the achievement of being the first, the best, or the winner in a non-military competition as proof that its ideology is better than its opponent's.



Espionage

Knowledge is power and, in the case of governments locked in ideological conflict, governments often feel the need to know as much as possible about their enemies. In 1962, for example, a US spy plane played a key role in the Cuban Missile Crisis, which you will read about on page 200.

The spy game was not created during the Cold War, but the media played a large role in bringing it into the lives of everyday people. Perhaps the most famous spy during the Cold War was the fictional James Bond.

A real example of a spy that had an impact on Canada and the world during the Cold War can be found in Igor Gouzenko. On September 5, 1945, just after the end of the Second World War, a Soviet cipher clerk named Igor Gouzenko fled the Soviet embassy in Ottawa with 109 documents that proved

the existence of a Soviet spy ring in Canada. This led to many arrests. His revelations were felt throughout the world and helped to ignite the Cold War.

Espionage continues to be practised between countries that are competing with each other even after the end of the Cold War era in the late 1980s and early 1990s. For example, the Cox Report (released in May 1999) detailed how the Chinese government had stolen and bought US military secrets from the United States since 1970, including information on neutron bombs; small, light nuclear warheads; and submarine detection technology. In 2001, an American navy spy plane collided with a Chinese fighter jet, sparking an international incident (Hainan Island Incident). The Chinese plane was closely shadowing the larger American plane as it was flying off the coast of China during a surveillance mission. The Chinese government argued that the US plane was in Chinese air space when the incident occurred and the US government argued that their plane was in international air space. The Chinese fighter pilot crashed and was presumed dead and the crew of the US plane completed an emergency landing on Hainan Island in China. The crew were treated well but were held captive by the Chinese government for 11 days until the US government issued a carefully worded apology.

Deterrence

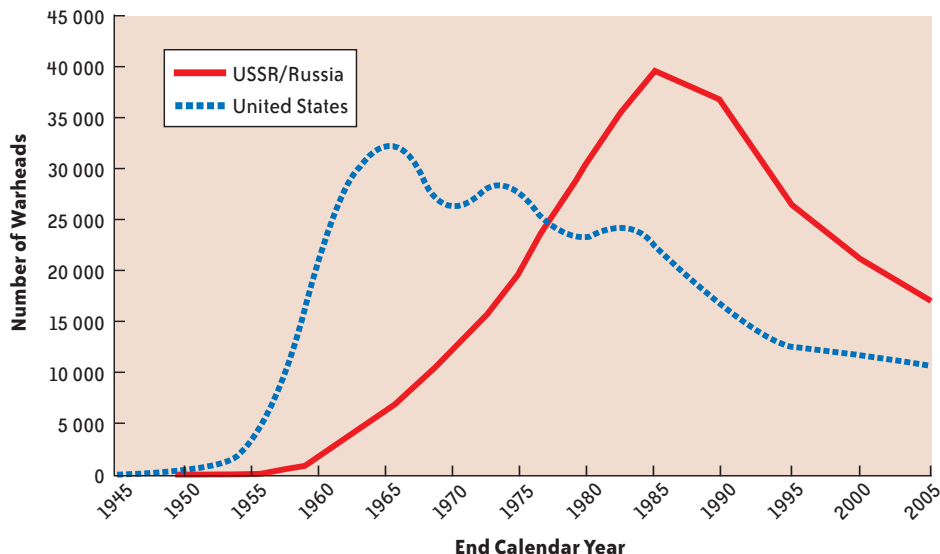
After the 1945 bombing of the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the Soviet development of nuclear arms by 1949, the governments of the world knew that a hot war between the superpowers could kill not only the superpowers but also the entire planet. With that in mind and throughout the Cold War, **deterrence** was defined as the belief that when both superpowers possess enough nuclear warheads to destroy each other, they will be deterred from starting a war because nuclear war is not desirable or winnable. The term for this situation of an unwinnable, nuclear war is Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD). The supporters of deterrence as a policy argued that this threat would maintain a balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union. Other countries developed nuclear weapons for other reasons. For example, France sought to exercise some degree of independence from what it saw as an American-dominated NATO by developing its own defensive nuclear weapons. In the words of France's President Charles de Gaulle, "No country without an atom bomb could properly consider itself independent." (Source: *New York Times Magazine*, May 12, 1968.) Mutually Assured Destruction and weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) have also been key issues in more recent international conflicts since the Cold War, such as between the United States and North Korea and the United States and Iran.

The use of an arms race to ensure a balance of power was not unique to the Cold War and nuclear weapons production. In the early part of the 20th century, Britain and Germany competed to build their navies in an attempt to achieve superiority. This race contributed directly to the events that led



▲ **Figure 8-12** Igor Gouzenko took on an assumed name after he defected from the Soviet Union in 1945. To Canadians, Gouzenko was known as “the man in the hood” because of his efforts to hide his face during television interviews and in media images.

Figure 8-13 The number of nuclear warheads that the United States and the Soviet Union had during the Cold War. What might account for the drop in the number of warheads after 1985? After 1990?



up to the First World War. Queen Noor al Hussein of Jordan, patron of the Landmine Survivors Network, has another perspective on the buildup of nuclear capability as a deterrent:

“The sheer folly [madness] of trying to defend a nation by destroying all life on the planet must be apparent to anyone capable of rational thought. Nuclear capability must be reduced to zero, globally, permanently. There is no other option.”

—Source: Queen Noor al Hussein, quoted in Dean Babst, “Preventing an Accidental Nuclear Winter,” June 28, 2001. Nuclear Age Peace Foundation,

http://wagingpeace.org/articles/2001/06/28_babst_nuclear-winter.htm.

Brinkmanship and the Cuban Missile Crisis

If deterrence is the building up of power—especially nuclear capabilities—in the belief that this will deter a hot war, then **brinkmanship** is pushing a dangerous conflict to the tipping point, where it is about to end in disaster. If you were the leader of a government, your brinkmanship would depend on the opposing government believing that you would definitely take extreme measures rather than give in. The tactic of brinkmanship has been compared to “a game of chicken.”

The Cuban Missile Crisis

The most famous example of brinkmanship is perhaps the Cuban Missile Crisis. As Stalin predicted, the Soviet Union and the United States became superpowers and many countries aligned with one or the other. In some cases, the countries made their choices in a move to liberate themselves.



The Cuban Missile Crisis

Examine the following three views on the Cuban Missile Crisis. Do these leaders' words show that they were trying to reduce or increase tensions?

"We have unmistakable evidence that a series of offensive missile sites is now being built on that island... Cuba has been made into an important strategic base by the presence of these long-range offensive weapons of sudden mass destruction. This is an open threat to the peace and security of all the Americas. Our objective must be to prevent the use of these missiles against this or any other country. We must secure their withdrawal from the Western Hemisphere... I call upon Chairman Khrushchev to halt and eliminate this secret and reckless threat to world peace."

—John F. Kennedy, speech to the American people, 1962.

"Mr. President, the Soviet government decided to help Cuba with means of defence against outside attack. These weapons were only meant for defensive purposes. We have supplied them to prevent aggression against Cuba... With respect and confidence I accept the statement you set forth in your message of October 27, 1962. You said then that Cuba will not be attacked or invaded by any country of the Western Hemisphere... We have given the order to discontinue building these installations [sites]. We shall dismantle them and withdraw them to the Soviet Union."

—Nikita Khrushchev, response to Kennedy, 1962.

We agree to remove those weapons from Cuba which you regard as offensive weapons. We agree to do this and to state this commitment in the United Nations. Your representatives will make a statement to the effect that the United States, on its part, bearing in mind the anxiety and concern of the Soviet State, will evacuate its analogous [similar] weapons from Turkey.

—Nikita Khrushchev in letter to Kennedy, October 27, 1962.

While my colleagues and I had no intention of doing or saying anything that would add to the seriousness of the Cuban crisis or make the Canadian public more apprehensive than it already was, we were obliged [forced] as the Government of Canada to take certain steps. We authorized an increased state of readiness for Canadian Armed Forces... Immediately upon receipt of the United States request, we took steps to ensure that Canadian air space and Canadian air transport facilities were not used to carry arms to the Soviet bases in Cuba.

—Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, *One Canada* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1977), pp. 86–87.



▲ **Figure 8-14** President John F. Kennedy, circa 1962



▲ **Figure 8-15** Fidel Castro is shown here with Nikita Khrushchev.

- 1 Raymond Garthoff, an intelligence analyst in the State Department, wrote the following on October 29, 1962:

"If we have learned anything from this experience, it is that weakness, even only apparent weakness, invites Soviet transgression [wrongdoing]. At the same time, firmness in the last analysis will force the Soviets to back away from rash [impulsive] initiatives."

—Raymond Garthoff, October 29, 1962, quoted in James G. Blight and Philip Brenner, *Sad and Luminous Days: Cuba's Secret Struggles with the Superpowers after the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2002).

Given the quotation by Garthoff, what was the danger of not using the strategy of brinkmanship when dealing with the Soviet Union?

- 2 How does the Cuban Missile Crisis illustrate the extent to which ideological conflict influences international relations, how it can escalate tensions, and how certain actions can fuel conflict?
- 3 In the sources provided, find examples of phrases, sentences, or strategies that could have increased tensions and that could have decreased tensions between the two superpowers during the Cuban Missile Crisis. What conflicts and barriers to understanding existed between the United States and the Soviet Union and Cuba? To what extent were these barriers overcome?

Fidel Castro led a socialist revolution in Cuba and overthrew the US-supported government of Fulgencio Batista in 1959. When the United States refused to lend Cuba money and buy Cuban sugar, the Soviet Union stepped in and began to lend Castro money and to buy Cuban products.

From the perspective of the United States, a socialist or communist country so close to US shores was unacceptable. The US government began to pressure other countries to join a trade embargo (ban) against Cuba. Canada, under the leadership of John Diefenbaker, continued to have both diplomatic and economic ties with Castro's Cuba. The CIA began to train Cuban exiles in Florida to go back and invade Cuba to overthrow Castro. President John F. Kennedy authorized the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961. Some 1500 Cuban exiles invaded Castro's Cuba at the Bay of Pigs, but without support, they failed and were killed by Cuban forces, or taken prisoner.

This US intervention in Cuba further broke down the relations between the two countries, but it soon got even worse. After a flight over Cuba in October 1962, a US U-2 spy plane brought back pictures that showed that the Soviet Union had brought medium-range ballistic missiles to Cuba. Medium-range ballistic missiles based in Cuba had the capability to hit every major US city except for Seattle.

In response to this information, Kennedy ordered a naval blockade around Cuba so that no more Soviet ships could deliver supplies. Soviet ships began to draw near to the quarantine (isolated) zone, and tensions were high.

As Soviet ships neared the US navy's blockade of Cuba, the world waited, hoping that one side or the other would back down, rather than see the two superpowers go to war. Through indirect channels, Kennedy and Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev negotiated a deal.

- The Soviet Union would remove its missiles from Cuba.
- The United States would promise not to invade Cuba, and withdraw its missiles from Turkey.

Khrushchev ordered his ships to turn around, which prompted US secretary of state Dean Rusk to say, "We were eyeball to eyeball, and the other fellow just blinked." (Source: Dean Rusk, quoted in Michael Dobbs, "Myths of the missile crisis." BBC Today, July 7, 2008, http://news.bbc.co.uk/today/hi/today/newsid_7492000/7492678.stm.)

Proxy Wars

As you read at the beginning of the chapter, the Cold War was felt around the world, not just in the United States and the Soviet Union. In some cases, the tension between the ideological rivals resulted in full-blown hot wars that played out in other countries. A **proxy war** is a war that results when two countries use third parties or countries as an alternative to fighting each other directly. We have already seen that many countries, including Canada, chose sides in the Cold War that developed after the Second World War. Being America's neighbour, and sharing many ideological values with it, Canada was considered to be part of the American sphere of influence. This did not, however, mean that Canada followed US guidance in all foreign policy decisions. Although US relations with Cuba continue to be strained to this day, Canada has consistently maintained a strong connection with Cuba even though Cuba and the United States were on opposite sides of the Cold War.

The Korean War

By the end of the Second World War, Japan had occupied Korea. In August 1945, the Soviet Union's forces attacked and advanced to the 38th parallel, which was where the United States and the Soviet Union had agreed the Soviet Army would stop. The United States and the Soviet Union agreed to split Korea into two zones of occupation following the defeat of Japan in the Second World War. Free elections were supposed to be held in 1947, but the Soviets would not let them take place in the north. Elections were held in the south, and the Republic of Korea was created in 1948. A communist government was established in the north, and the Korean People's Republic was created. The result was a divided country.

The Soviet Union left the north in 1948, and, by 1949, the majority of Americans had left the south. The leader of North Korea, Kim Il-sung, felt it was time to reunify Korea and made plans to attack the south. The Soviet Union began to supply North Korea with weapons, and, by



▲ **Figure 8-16** From January 1951 to March 1951, UN forces pushed the Chinese and North Korean armies north of the 38th parallel. For the next two years, both sides fought without resolution. The 38th parallel became the border for the two Koreas after the 1953 ceasefire.

April 1950, Stalin gave his approval for the invasion. On June 25, 1950, North Korean forces crossed the 38th parallel, beginning the invasion of South Korea. The response was almost inevitable: the United States became involved; however, a United Nations (UN) resolution led the way. In total, the United States and 15 other UN member countries sent troops and supplies to push the North Koreans out of South Korea. Canada sent members of its armed forces to Korea as part of the UN multinational force.

Canadians know this event as the Korean War, but the United States never declared war as such, but claimed that it was engaged in a “police action.” In China, the war in Korea is known as the War to Resist America and Aid Korea. For many Americans, however, the distinction of the Korean police action is blurred. On June 29, 1950, US senator Robert Taft said,

“Of course, we are actually engaged in a de facto [real] war. That in itself is serious but nothing compared to the possibility it might lead to war with Soviet Russia. It is entirely possible that they might move in to help the North Koreans and that the present limited field of conflict might cover the entire world.”

—Source: Robert Taft, “Capitol Report” No. 60, Featuring Senator Robert F. Taft, June 29, 1950, Primary Sources: Workshops in American History, <http://www.learner.org/workshops/primarysources/coldwar/docs/taft.html>.

In early October 1950, UN forces pushed North Korean forces back over the 38th parallel. Although this accomplished the UN’s stated aim of the direct action (that is, protecting South Korea), the UN troops advanced farther into North Korea. At this point, the goal became not just containing communism but rolling it back. From the perspective of newly communist China, this was a threat. China waited for Soviet support, and then entered the war in late October. The war continued until an armistice (ceasefire agreement) was declared on July 27, 1953, which Canada helped to negotiate. How was the Korean War an extension of the ideological conflict of the Cold War? How was it an extension of the American policy of containment?

The Vietnam War

The Vietnam War was similar to the Korean War in that it was a battleground for opposing ideologies, a proxy war, and a holdover from Second World War and prewar conflicts. As you read this brief description of the Vietnam War, consider the tensions between opposing ideologies and how they might escalate.

The French had been a colonial ruling power in Indochina (now Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia) in the 1800s. France regained control of the region after the Japanese were defeated in the Second World War. A leader of the resistance against both the Japanese and the French was Ho Chi Minh, who became immensely popular in Vietnam. Ho Chi Minh, a communist, fought against French domination, and defeated the French in 1954 at Dien Bien Phu.

A conference was convened in 1954 in Geneva, Switzerland, to solve the problems in Vietnam. Vietnam was to be divided at the 17th parallel, and free elections were to be held in two years. As with North Korea, the free elections never took place. The United States feared the more populous north would win a free election, causing Vietnam to become communist. The United States supported the government of South Vietnam, and began to send advisors and weapons in 1956. By 1966, there were almost half a million US troops in Vietnam fighting against the North Vietnamese. Over a million Vietnamese civilians and 58 000 US soldiers died during the war. The war resulted in the communist north—which received weapons and supplies from the Soviet Union and communist China—taking control of all of Vietnam in 1975.

The American forces left Vietnam in 1973, due to growing opposition to the war in the United States as a result of many factors, such as a stalemate in battle, high death tolls, the failing draft system, and the anti-war and peace movements. Saigon, the capital of South Vietnam, fell to the North Vietnamese in 1975. The country was united as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 1976 and is a single-party communist country.

What conflicts would have existed between US foreign policy regarding containment and the grassroots anti-war and peace movements in America during the Vietnam War?

The Soviet War in Afghanistan

Like the United States, the Soviet Union became involved in proxy wars related to conflicting ideologies. For example, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in 1979 in order to gain a friendly neighbour by supporting a pro-Soviet regime, the Marxist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) government, in its fight against the Mujahedeen (a Muslim involved in *jihad* or “struggle” for the sake of Islam) resistance. The American government equipped Afghan Mujahedeen resistance fighters with rifles from the First World War and other arms in a secret operation that cost the United States millions of dollars per year. This operation was intended to “inflict minor wounds on the Soviet giant” (Source: M. Hassan Kakar, *The Soviet Invasion and the Afghan Response, 1979–1982* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995)). The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 resulted in a boycott of the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympics by the United States and its allies and in renewed hostilities between the two superpowers.

Various factors made it difficult for the Soviets and the pro-communist government in Afghanistan to win the war, such as

- the provision of US weapons and support from other Arab Islamic countries, such as Saudi Arabia, to the Mujahedeen
- the often greater loyalty of Afghan peoples to their specific clan or ethnic group than to the government

Figure 8-17 The French conflict in Vietnam resulted in splitting the country at the DMZ (Demilitarized Zone).



Source: The History Place, <http://www.historyplace.com/unitedstates/vietnam/vietnam-map.htm>.

- a lack of popular support from rural populations for the communist government (Islam is strongly anti-communist, because of communism’s connection to atheism and collective ownership.)

The communist government was putting in place economic reforms that some Muslim peoples did not believe were appropriate according to their traditions and religious beliefs and values disapprove of communist principles of collective ownership. The Mujahedeen were popular among people in the rural areas because of their traditional views, but because they often aided the Mujahedeen, these rural people experienced a high number of casualties and deaths during the war.

This proxy war in Afghanistan caused a strong reaction from around the world and resulted in thousands of deaths for the Soviets and the Afghan people. Soviet soldiers retreated from Afghanistan in 1989, with some calling the Soviet War in Afghanistan the Soviet Union’s version of a Vietnam War and possibly one of the causes for the disbanding of the Soviet Union in 1991. The end of the Soviet War in Afghanistan left behind a weakened government and state and a strong, well-armed Afghan military forces (the Mujahedeen), including some commanders who later supported Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda in the September 11, 2001 (9/11) attacks against the United States.

Summary

As you have seen, **ideological conflict** can often increase tensions between countries. Hot wars of confrontation are replaced by other competitive methods, such as wars of words, prestige wars, espionage, **deterrence**, and **brinkmanship**. The struggle to maintain a balance of power between the superpowers has brought the countries close to war, as demonstrated by the Cuban Missile Crisis. In some cases, the United States and the Soviet Union became directly involved in proxy wars, such as those that occurred in Korea, Vietnam, and Afghanistan, as a method of expanding their spheres of influence or of containing the spread of their opponent’s sphere of influence.

Knowledge and Understanding

- 1 Create a visual organizer titled “Methods of the Cold War” that includes each method of escalating tension from the summary on page 197.
 - a) Briefly explain each method in your own words.
 - b) Give an example of each method as used by each superpower and identify which method(s) were most and least successful in promoting their ideology.
- 2 Do you think that any current international issues or tensions are a result of conflict between superpowers or ideologies? Why or why not?

Reducing International Tensions

Question for Inquiry

3. In what ways can international tensions be reduced?

In this section ...

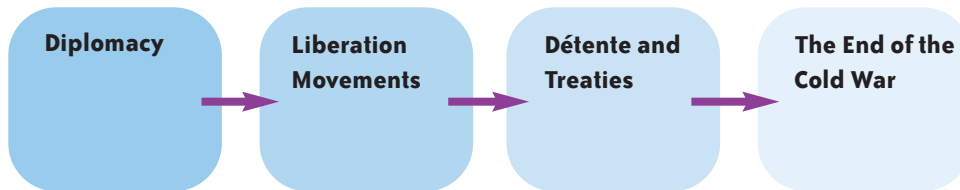


Figure 8-18 In Montréal in 1969, John Lennon (of the Beatles) and Yoko Ono staged one of their peace protests.

During the Cold War, the world came very close to nuclear destruction. Propaganda, espionage, arms races, brinkmanship, and proxy wars can all increase tensions, but what can ease them? In some cases, citizens decide that they must take action. For example, in the midst of the Vietnam War, John Lennon and Yoko Ono staged events to promote their “Give peace a chance” message. In 1984, Nikolai Krahmov, a 21-year-old Russian member of an unofficial peace group, refused to be examined for military service and was sentenced to jail. Others, such as Lotta Dempsey, a *Toronto Star* columnist, founded peace groups.

I have never met a woman anywhere who did not hate fighting and killing, and the loss of husbands and the terrible tragedy of children dead, maimed or left homeless and hungry. Here lies our strength.

—Source: Lotta Dempsey (founding member of Voices of Women),
 “The Voice of Women.” *Canada: A People’s History*,
http://history.cbc.ca/history/?MIval=EpisContent.html&series_id=1&episode_id=15&chapter_id=1&page_id=4&lang=E.

Do you believe that peace movements can help to reduce tensions in international conflicts? Explain your answer.

Diplomacy

Diplomacy is one way for governments to reduce ideological conflict. Canada, for example, has a long record of helping countries to find peaceful resolutions to their conflicts. Canadian minister of external affairs, Lester B. Pearson (1957 Nobel Peace Prize winner for his efforts in the Suez Canal Crisis), for example, helped negotiate a peace settlement in Korea in 1953. Pearson would go on to become Canada's prime minister.

Some countries approach conflict between opposing ideologies by avoiding involvement. While Truman said that every country must choose between two alternatives (see page 190), some countries chose their own entirely different ideologies. For instance, the Bandung Conference was a meeting of Asian and African states (many newly independent) held in April 1955 in Bandung, Indonesia. The conference's stated aims were to promote Afro-Asian economic and cultural co-operation and oppose any attempt by the United States, the Soviet Union, or any other "imperialistic" country (such as China) to include them in any sphere of influence.

Countries representing over half the world's population sent delegates. The conference reflected what these countries regarded as a reluctance by the Western powers to consult with them on decisions affecting Asia during Cold War tensions, their concern over tension between the communist People's Republic of China and the United States, their desire to lay firmer foundations for China's peaceful relations with themselves and the West, and their opposition to colonialism.

Major debate centred on the question of whether Soviet policies in Eastern Europe and Central Asia should be censured (that is, criticized) along with Western colonialism. A consensus was reached in which

"colonialism in all of its manifestations [forms]" was condemned, criticizing the Soviet Union as well as the West. A 10-point "declaration on promotion of world peace and cooperation," incorporating the principles of the United Nations Charter and Indian prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru's principles, was adopted unanimously.

Thus began a movement known as **non-alignment**, where many countries chose to not side (align) with either the United States and its allies, or with the Soviet Union and its allies, including communist China.

Figure 8-19 Following in the footsteps of her father, Jawaharlal Nehru, Indian prime minister Indira Gandhi (1917–1984) was a key promoter of not being influenced by either side during the Cold War. Refusing to join either the US or the Soviet camps, Gandhi, prime minister of India from 1966 to 1977 and 1980 to 1984, had this to say: "I would say our greatest achievement is to have survived as a free and democratic nation." (Encarta, http://encarta.msn.com/media_461577165/indira_priyadarshini_gandhi_quick_facts.html.)



Ping-Pong Diplomacy

During the Cold War, very few people from the West had ever travelled to communist China, and Westerners had very little knowledge of life there. Relations between the United States and China from 1949 until the early 1970s could be described as chilly. In an attempt to bring about a greater understanding between the two cultures, diplomats looked for unique ways to build a common understanding between the two countries. For example, ping-pong was used as an occasion to bring the two countries together.

In April 1971, the US ping-pong team played exhibition matches against Chinese teams and toured the country. No US groups had been allowed in China since China became communist in 1949. The next year, a Chinese ping-pong team travelled to the United States to play what were called “friendship matches.” This way of trying to establish relations between the two countries was called ping-pong diplomacy.

Ping-pong diplomacy was so successful that in 1972, Richard Nixon became the first American president to visit communist China. How does this example compare with the chapter opener about the 1972 Summit Series?



PAUSE AND REFLECT

How can this type of “sports diplomacy” enhance or weaken diplomatic relations between two ideologically opposed countries?

Liberation Movements

During the Cold War, ideology and the desire to change ideology had a significant impact on European countries, especially on countries under Soviet control. We will focus on **liberation movements** in four countries: Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and East Germany.

The Hungarian Revolution, 1956

The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 was a spontaneous nationwide people’s movement against the Soviet-controlled government of Hungary. It began as a student demonstration in the capital, Budapest. When the state security police shot at student activists, news spread quickly and a protest broke out across Budapest. The protest spread across the country. Thousands of Hungarians participated in this liberation movement by fighting against state security police and Soviet troops. A new government was formed, and it declared its intention to pull out of the Warsaw Pact and re-establish free elections.

After announcing plans to negotiate a withdrawal of Soviet forces, the politburo (the central policy-making and governing body of the Soviet Union’s Communist Party) changed its mind and ordered Soviet troops to invade Hungary. Hungarians resisted, suffering about 20 000 casualties and losing over 2500 people. Nearly 700 Soviet soldiers were killed in the conflict. Over 200 000 Hungarians fled the country. By January 1957, the new Soviet-controlled Hungarian government had eliminated all of its opposition. Crushing this liberation movement alienated (that is, had a negative impact on) many Western Marxists, but it had its desired effect of strengthening Soviet control over Central Europe.



Figure 8-20 The Warsaw Pact states of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and East Germany (with the divided capital, Berlin) during the Cold War

Prague Spring, Czechoslovakia, 1968

Prague Spring was a period of political liberation in Czechoslovakia that started when government reformist (that is, someone who wants to change a system) Alexander Dubček came to power in January 1968. Dubček's reforms included additional rights for citizens, partial decentralization of the economy, and loosening restrictions on the media, speech, and travel. This liberation movement continued until the Soviet Union's armed forces and its Warsaw Pact allies invaded Czechoslovakia to stop the reforms.

After failed negotiations with the Soviets, Warsaw Pact troops and tanks occupied the country until 1990. Dubček was replaced, and subsequent leaders reversed almost all of his reforms.

Lech Walesa and Solidarity in Poland, 1980

In 1980, a trade union called Solidarity (that is, shared feelings and acting together) was formed in Poland by a shipyard worker, Lech Walesa. It was the first non-communist trade union in a then-communist country. Solidarity became a powerful anti-communist social movement. The Soviet-controlled Polish government tried to destroy the Solidarity movement but, in the end, it was so strong that the government had to negotiate with the union. This negotiation led to semi-free elections in 1989 in which Walesa was elected as the president of Poland.

Unfortunately, liberation movements in Hungary and Czechoslovakia did not ease tensions between the Soviet Union and its satellite states. The situation in Poland did not ease tensions either, as the Solidarity movement had stirred strong anti-Soviet feelings among the population. The liberation movement in East Germany was a clearer case of the easing of tensions between the Soviet Union and its satellite states in Eastern Europe.

The Berlin Wall—East German Liberation, 1989

In 1961, the Berlin Wall was built by the East German government, at the request of the Soviet Union, to keep East Germans from escaping to the West. The wall was a political, economic, and cultural iron curtain between the communist East and the democratic West. People who tried to escape were shot. The physical wall represented the ideological barrier between the East and the West.

US president Kennedy declared during a 1963 speech in West Berlin, *“Two thousand years ago the proudest boast [statement] was civis romanus sum [I am a Roman citizen]. Today, in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is ‘Ich bin ein Berliner’ [I am a citizen of Berlin!]. . . All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin, and, therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words Ich bin ein Berliner!”*

—Source: John F. Kennedy, speech given in West Berlin, June 26, 1963. BBC News, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/3022166.stm>.

In this famous quotation, Kennedy underlines the support of the United States for democratic West Germany—including West Berlin—shortly after East Germany had built the Berlin Wall.

This speech is considered a key moment of the Cold War. It was a great morale boost for West Berliners, who lived in Allied-occupied West Berlin deep inside East Germany and feared a possible East German occupation.

In 1989, a wave of **pro-democracy movements** spread across Eastern Europe. In October 1989, East Germany's communist leaders were forced out of power, and in November, the borders between East Germany and West Germany—including the Berlin Wall—were opened. For many, the fall of the Berlin Wall signified the end of the Cold War. The pro-democracy movement even caused the Soviet Union's communist government to collapse. By the end of 1991, the Soviet Union had broken apart into independent countries, the largest of which was Russia.

Détente and Treaties

For the superpowers of the Cold War themselves, easing tensions was not easy; however, after Stalin died in 1953, Nikita Khrushchev came to power in the Soviet Union and promoted peaceful coexistence. He believed that, even though capitalist liberal democracy and communism were ideologically opposed to one another, the United States and the Soviet Union could coexist without resorting to war, especially nuclear war.

“Our desire for peace and peaceful coexistence is not prompted by any time-serving or tactical considerations. It springs from the very nature of socialist society in which there are no classes or social groups interested in profiting by means of war or by seizing and enslaving foreign territories...The main thing is to keep to the sphere of ideological struggle...In our day there are only two ways, peaceful coexistence or the most destructive war in history. There is no third way.”

—Source: Nikita Khrushchev, quoted in John Laver, *The USSR 1945–1990* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1991), p. 25.

Tensions were not reduced immediately. After the Cuban Missile Crisis, however, there were many strong reasons to reduce tensions on both sides. The Soviet Union was spending billions on the arms race, and the Soviet leadership felt that this could not continue. In addition, better relations with the United States might open up more trade with Western Europe. The United States was also motivated to reduce international tensions. The US government's involvement in the Vietnam War was draining the US economy.

The period of reducing tensions, called *détente*, took place from the mid-1960s to 1979. *Détente* is a term used to refer to the use of diplomatic methods such as peace treaties and a reduction in arms spending in an effort to reduce Cold War tensions. During that time, leaders of the superpowers met at various summits and signed many treaties hoping to limit nuclear weapons.



▲ **Figure 8-21** Following the escape of more than 13 000 East German tourists from communist Hungary to neutral Austria, demonstrations against the repressive Soviet-controlled government broke out all over East Germany in October 1989. East Berliners flooded the checkpoints into West Berlin. On November 9, 1989, the wall fell. The liberation of the people of East Berlin was a key event in ending the Cold War.



PAUSE AND REFLECT

How can treaties and international visits reduce tensions?

Nuclear Arms Treaties

Détente is French for “relaxing.” In what ways would this strategy of having meetings between the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union relax conflicts in international relations between the superpowers? How would détente relax relations among other countries caught up in the Cold War?

Negotiations to limit the nuclear stockpiles of the Soviet Union and the United States began in Helsinki, Finland, in 1969, and ended in a historic visit by US president Nixon to Moscow where he signed the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) in 1972. SALT I limited anti-ballistic missiles and froze the number of US intercontinental ballistic missiles at 1054.

“Last Friday, in Moscow, we witnessed the beginning of the end of that era which began in 1945. We took the first step toward a new era of mutually agreed restraint and arms limitation between the two principal nuclear powers. With this step, we have enhanced the security of both nations. We have begun to check the wasteful and dangerous spiral of nuclear arms which has dominated relations between our two countries for a generation. We have begun to reduce the level of fear by reducing the causes of fear, for our two peoples and for all peoples in the world.”

—Source: Richard Nixon, address given to a Joint Session of the Congress on Return From Austria, the Soviet Union, Iran, and Poland, June 1, 1972. The American Presidency Project, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=3450>.

Figure 8-22 SALT I was the first treaty to limit strategic nuclear weapons. SALT II followed in 1979 but was never ratified (signed) by the United States due to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in that same year.

Achievements of SALT I	Achievements of SALT II
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty• a 5-year freeze on the number of long-range land and sea ballistic missiles that could be possessed by each side	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• further limitation of anti-ballistic missiles• limitations on long-range bombers and missiles

In 1972, the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States was signed. This treaty recognized that the risk of nuclear war would increase if one country were successful in developing a working ABM system because the policy of deterrence would no longer work. Nuclear war could then be seen as “winnable.”

After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 to support a pro-Soviet communist government and to keep Afghanistan in its sphere of influence, the world seemed once again at risk of nuclear war. American voters elected Republican Ronald Reagan, a vocal and outspoken opponent of communism, to the White House. The concept of détente, however, continued to be practised by both Soviet and US diplomats.

The End of the Cold War

Despite their initial distrust of each other, Ronald Reagan (American president, 1981–1989) and Mikhail Gorbachev (Soviet premier, 1985–1991) did come to agreements about nuclear arms.

“I told my colleagues Reagan was a dinosaur, while he called me a hardline Bolshevik,” says Gorbachev. But the two men approved a simple statement that a nuclear war could not be won. And Gorbachev remembers feeling that this hawk [someone who promotes war], Reagan, actually meant what he said. “You know, you really can’t explain it,” says Gorbachev. “I felt something and he felt something—that we could talk to each other.”

—Source: Wyatt Andrews, “Reagan’s Cold War Legacy.”

CBS News, June 10, 2004,

<http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2004/06/10/eveningnews/main622398.shtml>.

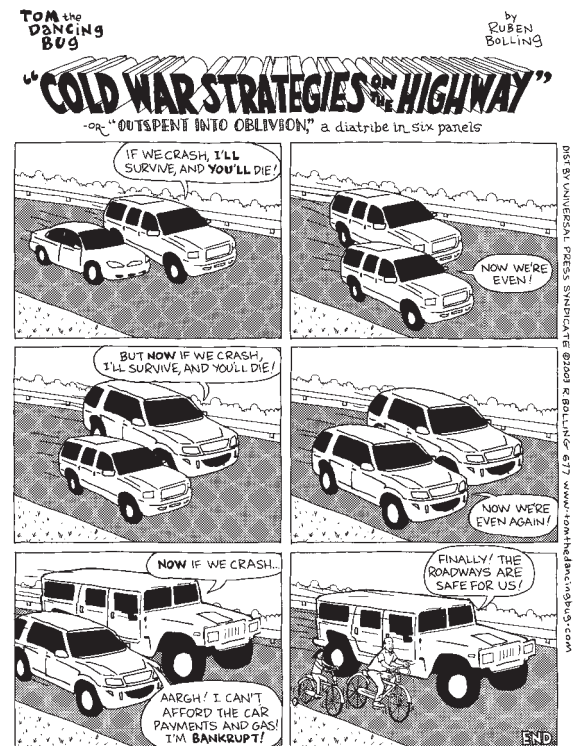
Although the Cold War did not officially end until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the ideological differences that led to the split between the East and the West continued to soften throughout the 1980s. American and Soviet officials understood that rising tensions could lead to a war that neither side could win. Diplomacy and cross-cultural interactions contributed to a greater understanding of the differences between the two superpowers. Interactions in the post-Cold War era required that the United States and the Soviet Union work together for many reasons, including the lack of a desire to continue to use their resources to stay in a state of conflict with one another. Some observers believe that the political and economic changes made by Gorbachev during his leadership contributed to bringing the Cold War to an end. Others would also argue that the Soviet Union was not able to match the spending of the United States during the 1980s, and was somewhat forced into a situation of negotiation with the US given this military gap between them.

Summary

We have learned that individual citizens can take action to encourage change through peace movements or **liberation movements**. Countries often engage in diplomacy to reach a better understanding of each other’s ideologies. “Ping-pong”-type diplomacy encouraged countries to find common interests and increase understanding. In some cases, countries are motivated by internal or domestic factors, such as the costs of arms production. Formal treaties, such as SALT I, and a willingness to promote positive relationships—an approach known as **détente**—are also ways that countries have tried to decrease tensions between them.



▲ **Figure 8-23** The more open relationship between Reagan and Gorbachev helped end the Cold War.



▲ **Figure 8-24** In this cartoon, which vehicle represents the United States? The Soviet Union? What is the main message of the cartoon?

Knowledge and Understanding

- 1 Define your understanding of diplomacy, liberation movements, *détente*, and treaties. List two ways that the superpowers used each of these methods and explain how each method contributed to decreasing tensions. Which
- 2 method do you believe was most successful in decreasing tensions? Why?
- 3 How effective do you believe each of these methods would be in reducing tensions in international issues and conflicts today? Why or why not?

INVESTIGATION AND EXPLORATION

Cold War and Competing Ideologies: The Doomsday Clock

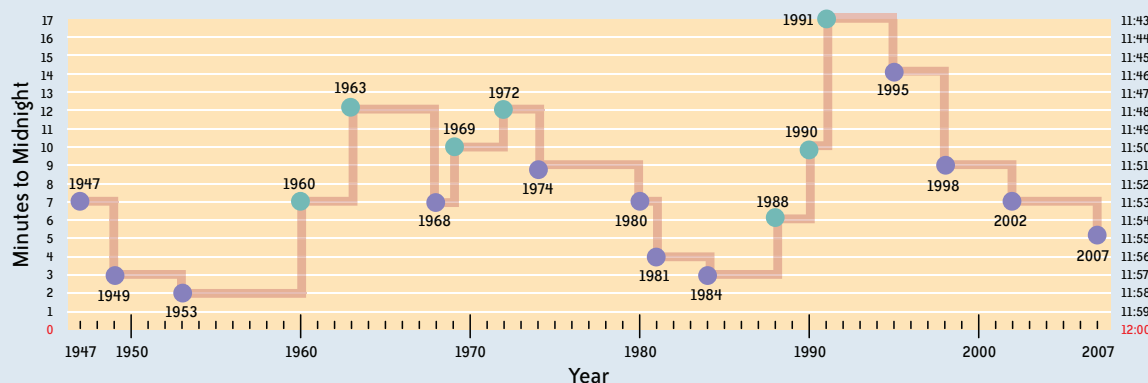
Something to Think About:

Throughout history, societies have tried to calculate the end of their own mortality. The Aztec and Mayan calendars have specific end dates (about one year apart) predicting the end of the world. The word *doomsday* comes from the Old English word *dom*, which means “reckoning” or “accounting.” *Domesday*, therefore, became the day of reckoning for lords on the value of their properties. The term *doomsday* came to signify the end of the world.

An Example:

During the Cold War, scientists created what they called a doomsday clock: a clock that showed symbolically how close the world was to destruction through nuclear war due to international tensions. Midnight represents the end of the world.

▼ **Figure 8-25** The doomsday clock, 1947–2007



Source: Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, <http://www.thebulletin.org/content/doomsday-clock/timeline>.

Questions for Reflection

- 1 Research events of the Cold War that appear on this timeline of the Doomsday Clock. Which events could be shown on the diagram but are not? Where would you put the clock in October 1962?
- 2 Which three events would you argue caused the most dramatic movement of the clock either closer or farther away from midnight? As part of your answer, identify specific behaviours, attitudes, and actions of superpowers that you believe contributed most to increasing conflict or to overcoming obstacles and building understanding. Use research to support your conclusions. You may wish to refer to the Reading Guide on page 192 in this chapter to help you with this question and question 3 that follows.
- 3 Since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the doomsday clock has moved closer to midnight. Choose one event and apply the knowledge you learned from this chapter to explain how international tensions have increased. Include in your answer specific examples of the methods, actions, and beliefs and values that the governments have used that have increased tensions.
- 4 What do you think the doomsday clock would read today? Why?

FURTHER EXPLORATION

- 1 One great challenge that Harry S. Truman and George Marshall faced after the Second World War was how to get Americans to agree to spend taxpayers' money on rebuilding European countries, some of which had been enemies as recently as two years earlier. How would, for example, a single mother living in Chicago, widow of a US soldier killed by Nazis during the Second World War, react to the Marshall Plan, which was made to help rebuild West Germany? How could Truman and Marshall convince this American voter and taxpayer that the Marshall Plan was necessary?
- 2 Consider what happened at the Olympics over the period of the Cold War. Do some research. Did the Olympics help peoples of the world overcome cultural barriers or did they serve as an opportunity to showcase particular ideologies? Based on your research about the Olympics during this period, reflect on the extent to which each country embraced an ideology.
- 3 Choose a conflict from this chapter to research further (for example, the Vietnam War). Clarify the conflict, how tensions increased, and its impact on international relations, including its impact on individual citizens. Present your findings in a class "Memories of the Cold War" electronic album that includes photographs, articles, artwork, statistics, and so on.

Chapter Summary and Reflection

We have learned that competition between countries can have an impact beyond any one country's borders. The ideologies that people or their governments embrace can often put their country in conflict with other countries. At the end of the **Second World War**, those conflicts resulted in a division of the world: capitalist liberal democracy versus communism. Efforts were made by the United States and its allies to contain the spread of communism and to expand its sphere of influence; efforts were also being made by the Soviet Union to expand its own sphere of influence. Alliances were formed to maintain **collective security**. The use of nuclear weapons led to a policy of **deterrence** and a struggle to maintain a balance of power.

This struggle resulted in the practice of **brinkmanship**, which threatened open warfare. Some leaders, however, made a decision to reduce international tensions through the use of diplomacy, **détente**, and formal treaties. **Liberation movements** in some countries also had some impact on the degree of international tensions. You have made connections between events that can lead to tensions and strategies that can help decrease tensions. These observations will help you address the Chapter Issue: *To what extent can ideological conflict influence international relations?*